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THE REHABILITATION OF THE HARD CORE UNEMPLOYED.

BY- WALKER, ROBERT A.
MINNEAPOLIS REHABILITATION CENTER, MINN.

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THIS REPORT DOCUMENTS THE RESULTS OF A REHABILITATION PROGRAM FOR 170 PERSONS, SELECTED BY THE STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, WHO SUFFERED FROM SEVERE AND CHRONIC UNEMPLOYMENT (HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED). THE DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS, EMPLOYMENT HISTORY, ETC., WHICH WERE GATHERED THROUGH TESTING AND INTERVIEWS INDICATED THAT CHRONIC UNEMPLOYMENT IS A SYMPTOM OF DEEPER PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS. A SPECIAL GROUP ANALYSIS DESCRIBES THE CHARACTERISTICS OF GROUPS OF TRAINEES WHO WERE CATEGORIZED ON THE BASIS OF CERTAIN OUTCOMES ("NO SHOWS," DROPOUTS, UNEMPLOYABLES, ETC.) AND GIVES AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE NATURE OF THESE GROUPS AS AN AID IN THE SELECTION OF POTENTIAL TRAINEES. THE SERVICES OFFERED BY THE CENTER AND THE OBJECTIVES OF THE PROGRAM ARE OUTLINED. TO MEASURE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PROGRAM, THE CENTER STUDIED THE EMPLOYMENT RATES, THE LEVEL OF JOBS ATTAINED, AND THE COSTS OF THE PROGRAM. (FS)

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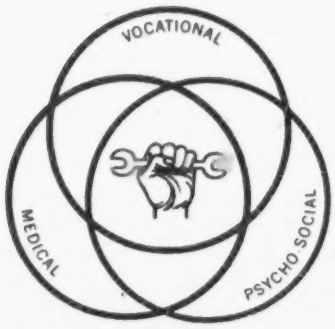

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Prepared By
ROBERT A. WALKER

APRIL 1965

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SUMMARY

This report documents the results of a rehabilitation program for those unemployed who find it difficult to enter the labor market without special help. The report differs from others because these unemployed were selected by the Employment Service rather than by a rehabilitation resource. The population, then, represents a group of people who have been frequently labeled as the "hard-core unemployed." They might be characterized as people who remain unemployed despite a reasonably abundant job market and the usual efforts of a community to get them back to work. It is probable that every community has a hard-core group similar to this sample. The report is of interest not only because the group is unique but also because this study analyzed their special problems, the program and the results.

The Center found that the hard-core unemployed have a long history of severe and multiple problems, only one of which is unemployment. The majority have had difficulties throughout their life; in marriage and family relationships, living with themselves and others, limited education, inept social skills, physical disabilities as well as intermittent employment.

The Center views their unemployment as a symptom of more basic psychological and social deficiencies. Education and skill problems are of lesser significance. Moreover, these difficulties appear to have existed for many years and are apparent in almost any area of their lives one chooses to examine -- be it the marriage that failed, entanglements with the law, or the social isolation which so frequently characterizes them. These deficiencies are difficult to treat since many of them do not see their own needs and often fail to make use of help when it is provided. In essence, the core of the hard-core unemployed appears to be mental illness.

Between October 1963 and October 1964 the Twin City offices of the Minnesota State Employment Service referred 170 unemployed persons to the Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center. The Employment Service felt that these people needed special services beyond those that they normally provide to the unemployed. The Center was to offer any available service which might be helpful in assisting them to prepare, obtain, and hold a job. The funds were made available through the Manpower Development and Training Act (Public Law 87-415).

The most rewarding end result is that 70% of those who successfully completed the program are currently employed on appropriate jobs. Our tentative conclusions are that they are holding these jobs. Employment, however, is not the only product of the Center's services. The staff also feels that many of these trainees obtained psychological gains and consequently are more effective in dealing with life problems even though their grip on employment might be tenuous.

As in any project, some results are disturbing. Among these are the 46% that were referred but never started the program, the 19% who dropped out after starting and the 19% who were classed as not employable despite the Center's efforts.

Although the complete report documents a number of interesting and significant findings three primary conclusions are as follows:

1. This sample of Hard-Core unemployed are out of work primarily because of mental illness rather than factors such as age, education and skill. In employment terms, they are poor job seekers and they often fail to hold jobs.

2. Intensive services which provide simultaneous assistance for a number of life problems are helpful in getting the majority of them jobs and assisting them to hold jobs.

3. The financial costs of such a program are less than regular MDTA programs even though extensive services are needed.

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I. Introduction

Following the passage of the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA Public Law 87-415) on March 15, 1962, the Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center (MRC) considered the implications of this legislation for the unemployed and what role the Center might play. Early impressions were that this Act, with its emphasis on skill development, might not be the best approach towards helping the "hard-core unemployed." Our own experience with unemployed people led us to believe that their psychological problems were often related to their lack of training and subsequently would make it difficult for them to be retrained.

As nationwide experience was gained from MDTA programs, it became apparent that the Act was skimming off the more capable unemployed, leaving a residue of people whose unemployment persisted in spite of the services that were offered.

Because of the Center's historical concern for persons having unusually severe employment problems, liaison was established with government officials on both the state and federal levels to discuss the practicality of providing the MRC patterns of services under MDTA to those who could not be served under existing Employment Service (ES) programs. As a result a contract was signed which provided twenty-five percent of the MRC services for a one-year period of time to a group of hard-core unemployed selected and referred by the Minneapolis, St. Paul and Hopkins offices of the Minnesota State Employment Service.

The purpose of such a service was twofold: (1) To test out the Center's capabilities in helping them to secure employment; (2) To find out what kinds of problems are related to their unemployment. It was felt that, in view of impending legislation growing out of the antipoverty program, and a growing national concern for the jobless, that the MRC could help obtain a better understanding of the chronically unemployed and the services which they need as well as the outcomes which might be expected.

II. Selection and Referral

In order to encourage referrals to the Center's program, it was decided to make the referral process as simple as possible. To accomplish this it was decided that referrals would be made on a postcard giving only the bare essentials needed by the Center to make contact with the trainee and through interviews by the Center to complete the selection. Since it is difficult to communicate the many resources of the MRC program as an aid in selection it was decided to ask the Employment Service to refer to the Center any trainee they felt they could not serve and let the MRC make the final decision. As it turned out only a very few clients were rejected by the Center using this method.

A more complete account of methods employed in selection is included in the Appendix, under the title "Guidelines for Selection and Referral."

III. Services Offered

The Center offers 16 services which prepare and assist unemployed persons to obtain and hold a job. The services are as follows:

1. Housing and Relocation
2. Social Casework Evaluation
3. Social Casework Treatment
4. Group Work
5. Work Evaluation Assessment (work habits, skills, etc.)
6. Work Evaluation Treatment (Development of good work habits, motivation, etc.)
7. Work Evaluation Training (Limited to entry level occupations)
8. Vocational Counseling Assessment
9. Vocational Guidance
10. Job Development
11. Job Placement
12. Job Retention Services
13. Clinical Psychology Diagnosis and Testing
14. Clinical Psychology Treatment
15. Medical Screening
16. Psychiatric Review and Consultation

Eight professional persons conduct these services:

1. Vocational Counselor
2. Caseworker
3. Work Evaluator
4. Clinical Psychologist
5. Group Worker
6. Physician
7. Psychiatrist
8. Coordinator

Each of these eight persons comprise a team. Each of the sixteen services were available to all of the trainees starting the program.

These 16 services are provided over periods ranging from two or three months up to two years. Any or all of these services are available to the trainee on the basis of his desire and ability to profit from them. The utilization rate of services is described in a later section. Normally, trainees receive services over a period of time ranging from 10 to 12 months. The basic purpose of this highly individualized service is to prepare the trainee for employment in such a manner that he becomes capable of managing his vocational and his personal life in a more effective fashion. Specifically the objectives of this program are as follows:

1. To develop within each trainee an awareness of his total life situation and the personal resources which he can bring to bear on his problems.

2. To assist him in mobilizing these resources toward solving not only present but also future problems.

3. To identify appropriate vocational objectives commensurate with his own skills and abilities and the opportunities offered in the job market.

4. To improve his work habits to a point that will enable him to retain employment.

5. To teach him techniques of job finding which can be used in securing employment and to provide direct job placement assistance.

6. To provide him with short term training in entry level occupations.

7. To aid in the development of social skills, grooming habits and other personal behaviors which will facilitate a variety of program goals.

8. To assist him in making use of social, psychological, recreational and medical resources in the community if they are needed.

In summary, these many services provided by the MRC enable the trainee to prepare for, obtain and hold a job. It is also hoped that through the development of personal resources each trainee will function better in a number of other ways as well.

During the course of this one-year project a total of 170 unemployed persons were referred to the Center for an interview with the anticipation that the Center could provide services. However, it soon became apparent that the number of potential clients needing special services far exceeded the Center's capacity to serve them. This demand was not anticipated, since unemployment in this labor market is typically low and during the course of the project ranged from 3% to 4%. In order to reduce the long waiting list, it soon became necessary to employ a quota system which would regulate the number of referrals sent by each local office of the ES in the Twin City area.

IV. Characteristics of Clients Accepted

Although it was not possible to obtain accurate statistical information from all 170 trainees accepted by the MRC of referrals from the Minnesota State Employment Service, the following summary offers a reliable picture of the "hard-core unemployed" whose problems the Center sought to solve.

A. Employment History

A glance at the figures below in Table I describing the past employment history clearly reveals that unemployment was severe and chronic. The average rate of unemployment in relationship to the total labor force in this labor market area during the 12 months of the project was 3.4%. Yet, the typical trainee had been unemployed on an average of 11.9 months prior to starting the Center's program. Almost half of the group (45%) had been out of work at least half the time during the past five years. Table I shows the percentage of time worked for 160 trainees during the past five years.

TABLE I

Percentage of time Employed during Past Five Years	Percentage of Trainees
0 - 25%	24%
26 - 50%	21%
51 - 75%	23%
76 - 100%	24%
Not Applicable	8%

The median length of unemployment was 6.5 months for the total sample. when compared with the average (11.9), reflects that the sample must have contained some individuals with extensive unemployment. Such is the case since further analysis showed that 32% of the sample had been unemployed a year or more prior to referral to the program. The distribution of unemployment prior to starting the program is clearly bimodal; 56% were unemployed 6 months or less leaving only 12% with 7 to 11 months of prior unemployment. For these trainees work was not only intermittent but when they did work the average length of time they held a job was only 1 1/2 years in contrast to the national average of 4.5 years.

A total of 63 past job references were obtained. Over 60% of these were rated by our counselors as showing unsatisfactory performance on the job. Many trainees were fired directly and others were eased out less dramatically.

The figures indicate that the Center was providing services to persons with histories of unstable and persistent unemployment dating back at least five years. Furthermore, these trainees did not appear to have any immediate job prospects. In summary not only did this group have great difficulty in finding work in a reasonably substantial labor market, but they also had an equally difficult time in holding a job.

B. Occupation Level

As might be expected the hard-core unemployed tend to have been previously employed in the less skilled occupations, although this occurrence is not as great as might be anticipated. Figures show that trainees classed as unskilled appear five times more frequently than expected and that service workers occur twice as often. However, this population of hard-core unemployed had approximately 3% more workers with past work histories in the clerical areas than one normally finds in the Minnesota labor force. Only two trainees had been employed in the professional, technical and managerial areas. The percentage of trainees with job histories in the semi skilled and unskilled areas was approximately twice that of the expected rate using a sample of Minnesota employed workers as a comparison.

In summary, although the hard-core unemployed more often than not have work histories in the unskilled, semi-skilled and service occupations (approximately 65% as compared to 27% in an employed Minnesota population), a fair number (24%) had their prior work histories classified as clerical and sales and professional, occupations which often find themselves on shortage lists in large metropolitan areas.

C. Intellectual Level

As a measure of intelligence the Center uses the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale which is routinely given to each trainee. The full scale scores ranged from 135 (trainee was felt to be unemployable) to 54 (trainee is now working). The average IQ was 93. From this data it appears that intelligence does not significantly differ from that of the general population and that on the surface it does not appear to be a factor which is related to the trainee's unemployment.

D. Educational Level

The average number of years of education for those that were were referred was 9.5 years. Approximately 1/3 of the group

had a high school diploma or more, 55% had between 8 and 12 years of school while the remaining 15% had less than an 8th grade education.

Using a population derived from the United States 1960 Census for persons 25 years or older the following comparisons can be made: The trainees seen in this project had less total years of formal schooling (9.5 versus 10.6), fewer high school graduates (30% versus 52%) but approximately the same percentage (15%) of those who had less than an 8th grade education.

In summary, this population has fewer well educated people (12th grade or above) but a normal amount of people with severe (less than 8th grade) educational deficits as compared to the general population as a whole.

On the basis of these findings the Center concludes that although the educational level of this sample is depressed the figures do not indicate that the years of formal schooling is a substantial problem with this population.

E. Reading Disabilities

Since there has been a great deal of national concern about providing basic education courses for the chronically unemployed, the Center became interested in this possible therapeutic measure. Unfortunately, this interest occurred too late to obtain a 100% sample of reading skills. However, approximately 80% of all the trainees starting the program did receive a Gates Reading Survey as part of the program. Overall results show that this group has a reading comprehension score at the 7.7 grade level. Compared with the median educational level (9.0), the discrepancy is not great. National surveys of reading skill for the general population tend to be near the 8th grade level.

However, the Center was interested in a more detailed analysis to see whether or not there were individual trainees who had reading deficiencies which might be corrected through a remedial reading program. Thus a total of 77 trainees, out of a possible 91 who started the program, were given reading tests. To decide who had a serious reading problem, the Center selected for analysis all trainees who had less than 6th grade reading ability, the level below which reading disability was regarded as a vocational or employment handicap. A total of 14 such persons were identified. However, three trainees dropped out before additional assessment could be done, reducing the sample to 11. As a gross measure of capacity to profit from a remedial reading

program the Center first used intelligence tests and found that the average IQ of this group of 11 was 78, and the average reading skill, 4.5 grade level.

Thus it is clear that many who were poor readers were also limited in intellectual capacity. An additional one-third of these poor readers showed signs of brain damage using psychological tests.

Out of this original sample of 11, only 5 trainees appeared to have the intelligence to profit from a reading program. However, an additional assessment revealed that they were not interested in such a program or had already failed in such a program. In other instances environmental problems made it impractical to provide such a service.

Our results show that between 15% to 20% of the group had a reading problem which could pose as an employment barrier (below the 6th grade level in reading skill). However, when one considers the reading potentiality, it becomes evident that many of them could not profit from such a program due to intellectual limitations, brain damage, personality disorders and lack of interest.

These findings do not necessarily mean that there were not some trainees - those with reading levels above the 6th grade - who could profit from a remedial reading program. However, since it is doubtful that for these trainees reading level is a significant vocational problem, the Center did not pursue the matter further. It was also found that poor readers were as likely to find a job as good readers, and that therefore for this group, reading level was not a primary factor in their unemployment.

F. Deficiencies in Arithmetic

Although proficiency in basic arithmetic is not needed in all occupations, it was assumed by the Center that occupational mobility might be restricted by lack of it and that an analysis of deficiency might therefore be worthwhile.

Consequently a Wide Range Achievement Test in arithmetic was given to 62 trainees. The average arithmetic score was at the 5.8 grade level. Of these, 16 scored below the 5th grade level, the minimum for performing the four basic skills in computation - adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing. These 16 had an average IQ of 80 and a reading level at grade 4. Twenty-five percent had organic brain damage on psychological tests.

From this group of 16 the Center found 6 trainees whose arithmetic skills were significantly lower than their IQ's warranted, and identified them as potential candidates for a remedial course in arithmetic. No such course was offered, however, for reasons determined by the vocational counselors who interviewed them: They were not interested, too disturbed to profit from such a course, or they could see no relation between arithmetic skills and their vocational goals.

In summary it can be said that arithmetic levels are consistently lower than reading levels and represent a severe basic educational problem for 30% of the group. However, since computational skills are less critical to employment than reading skills, and since it is doubtful that all of the 30% could profit from a remedial program, it is probable that a remedial arithmetic program would have a minimal effect in obtaining or holding a job.

G. Miscellaneous Demographic Variables

1. Age

Table II shows the distribution of age for the total sample of 170 trainees.

TABLE II

AGE	PER CENT
18 or less	4%
19 - 24	21%
25 - 34	20%
35 - 44	24%
45 - 54	15%
55 - 64	13%
65 +	3%

It was anticipated that the age distribution would be bimodal with peaks occurring under 21 and over 55 yet Table II reflects an almost normal distribution. The total sample had an average age of 37 years. This distribution indicates that a deviant age is not an universal characteristic of the hard-core unemployed. Age was also not related to a successful employment outcome for those that completed the program.

2. Sex

In the total sample 85% were males and 15% females. Studies of Minnesota unemployment and insurance claimants typically shows a distribution of 75% males and 25% females. The Center's experience with unemployed males and females has been that a male tends to be a more difficult placement problem than the female. It

may be that ES is experiencing similar results. In terms of obtaining employment as a result of Center services there appears to be a slight advantage for women.

3. Marital Status

An unusual characteristic of the hard-core unemployed is that only 45% are married. This figure is in contrast to a recent study based on a random sampling of unemployed persons in Minnesota which showed over 70% married. The divorce rate also appears to be deviant, occurring twice as often in this group as in the population previously mentioned. This fact coupled with others to be described later, suggests that these trainees are not only unattractive in the labor market but perhaps lack appeal in the marriage market as well.

4. Source of Income

The current sources of income at the time of referral for this group came from a variety of sources. The two most common were welfare programs (35%) and friends, relatives or spouses (30%). A surprisingly large number, 58% had at one time or another received support money from welfare programs.

Observations by the Center's staff were that although most of this group had been living on a low income for quite a period of time, few trainees had an acute financial problem and seldom expressed an immediate concern over money. It appeared that the trainees had made an adjustment to a marginal income to the point where the financial rewards of a job may have had a limited impact on their motivation to return to work. In most instances the present source of income was "safe" although limited, and for only a small number of trainees was the threat of losing their present income (e.g. Workmen's Compensation or Unemployment Compensation money running out) an impetus to obtaining a job.

Only 9 trainees of the 88, whose source of income was known, were living on Unemployment Compensation.

In general, the Center staff feels that the promise of an MDTA training allowance for this group would have a limited effect on the trainee's participation in a rehabilitation program, and that certain psychological problems (e.g. motivation, fears) pose more critical issues.

5. Race

Approximately 11% of the sample were non-whites. The Twin City metropolitan area has less than a 3% non-white population. However, the percentage of racial minority found in this sample is almost identical to that of a local population of unemployed adults. Race, incidentally, was not related to outcome.

6. Physical Handicaps

Of interest to the Center's staff was the prevalence of physical disability among the trainees, and whether or not a substantial number of them would be eligible for services under the state rehabilitation program.

The Center's vocational counselors felt that approximately 1/3 of this group had a physical problem which would effect vocational planning. These disabilities were usually not visually apparent and consisted of problems such as back syndromes, heart disease, etc. In about 10% of the total sample it was felt that the medical problems were the most significant factor in explaining the trainee's unemployment.

It was estimated that 55% of the sample would be eligible for state DVR services. Approximately 20% of the sample had already received some services from the state rehabilitation agency prior to referral to the MRC.

The occurrence of physical disability in this population represents a big problem. The severity of such problems has a definite impact on vocational planning for many trainees (39%) and there will be some trainees who should receive medical services. Fortunately the Center did have a physician who could provide information concerning the functional limitations of the trainee's medical problems as well as to recommend medical services. However, obtaining medical treatment programs was another matter and those that were needed (a small number) had to be arranged through a variety of local community resources.

In summary it is apparent that physical problems are of considerable significance in planning for this population and medical services, both diagnostic and treatment, appear to be needed.

H. Psychological and Social Characteristics

Of considerable interest to the Center's staff was the extent of psychological and social pathology for this group of chronically

unemployed individuals. Early in the program it became clear that this population had rather serious personal problems which would be major issues in any rehabilitation effort. Consequently for those trainees who actually started the program, 6 problem areas were measured by the staff using rating scales and other methods. The results of this study follow:

1. Known Psychiatric Diagnosis

   The Center's casework staff was asked to indicate whether or not each trainee had an established psychiatric diagnosis, by a psychiatrist or clinical psychologist, prior to referral to the MRC. Forty percent of the trainees had a psychiatric label. Although no comparative figures are available, this number most likely exceeds what might be expected. In essence this total represents the minimum amount of official psychiatric disorders which were present. The figure is minimum since a number of these trainees, regardless of the severity of their psychological problems, may have successfully avoided referral to a psychological resource. In other instances this type of history was probably not revealed.

2. Hospitalized for Mental Illness

   The second problem to be investigated was the severity of psychological pathology. To find out we asked whether trainees had ever been hospitalized for mental illness in either a public or private hospital. The tabulation shows that 20% of those who were available for such a rating (N=96) had a history of hospitalization for mental illness.

   Again, although no comparative figures are available, it appears that among the hard-core unemployed there is a large number of well-identified, psychiatrically disabled persons who at one point in their lives required hospitalization.

3. Had Received Prior Mental Health Services

   The Center was next interested in measuring the frequency with which trainees had received assistance in solving their emotional problems from a recognized community agency such as a mental health center, a family counseling agency, or a welfare department. (Financial assistance services were not counted.) A total of 42% of those who started the program had been seen by other agencies for treatment of emotional problems. In effect, this total represents those that had received out-patient services. This figure reflects to some degree the amount of community services which had been provided.

This statistic shows that a rather large number of trainees had already been provided psychological and social services and were well known to a number of community resources. Two issues might therefore be raised:

a. Although many had received help, unemployment and personal problems persisted. The services had a questionable effect, at least in employment outcomes.

b. A rather high proportion, 58%, did not receive any assistance in spite of the fact that the most significant characteristic of the entire sample was mental illness. From these facts, it might be conjectured that many of the hard-core unemployed do not voluntarily seek mental health services and therefore are not consistently served by the mental health resources available.

4. Family Reassurance

The Center has always felt that the attitude of the family toward the trainee's rehabilitation effort is an important factor in his program. To measure this the Center staff was asked to rate after the first orientation interview whether the family was positive, neutral or negative concerning the trainee's participating in the Center's program. Table III shows these results:

TABLE III

Family Attitude	Percentage
Positive	19%
Neutral	25%
Negative	24%
Doesn't Apply	32%

It appears that the majority of this group was not able to look to their family for reassurance support and guidance in their rehabilitation effort.

5. Drinking

As one indicator of psychological pathology the Center's vocational staff sought to measure with a rating scale the degree to which drinking was a problem for the trainee in

relation to his being able to get a job or keep a job. The survey showed that 23% of the group had such a problem. Although this total is not a high one, it likely is a minimal figure, since some trainees do not admit to the fact that they drink. Others were not labeled as problem drinkers, since it could not be demonstrated that drinking had had an effect on their vocational adjustment.

The problem drinkers were hidden drinkers who, by and large, had not received help for their drinking problems from a recognized resource (e.g. AA). They also tended to be rather defensive about their drinking habits and generally refused to acknowledge that drinking was a problem.

6. Criminal Activities

Another indicator of social pathology rated by the Center was involvement in criminal activities other than minor traffic offenses. Approximately 33% of the 91 trainees who started the program had such a contact. An additional check with the Minnesota Department of Corrections verified the Center's records, and established the incidence of more serious offenses, since minor infractions and many juvenile records are not always reported to the Corrections Department. A total of 23% of the 170 referrals were found to have serious criminal records and were at some time either on probation, parole or institutionalized.

On the surface, this figure seems to pose a serious problem. But these mitigating facts might be added: many of the crimes committed occurred earlier in a trainee's life, and few of them were crimes for profit. In general the figure points to the fact that at some time in their life, 33% had engaged in anti-social behavior which came to the attention of law enforcement officials.

I. Personality Measurements

A final, more objective analysis of personality was made of each trainee using the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). Each trainee able to read was administered this test during the first day of the Center's program.

This analysis indicates first that the group as a whole has substantial emotional pathology. Only one of three trainees had an MMPI where all of the scales were below a T score of 70 (exclusive of validity scales). One third had one scale over 70 while the remaining one third had two or more statistically deviant scores. The rate of deviant profiles is approximately

four times the expected rate.

A second factor revealed by this analysis was the type of psychopathology encountered. A study of the most deviant psychological characteristic using the MMPI reveals that 24% of the group have their highest score on scale number four, Psychopathic Deviation. This rate of occurrence is eight times that of the expected frequency.

The following description of the samples' MMPI profiles was made by a clinical psychologist: "These people are often unreliable and irresponsible with a deviant set of goals and values which probably conflicts with those of the average person in our society. They tend to be distrustful and suspect the motives of others. They are significantly depressed, worried and anxious. From a work standpoint they would have difficulty in concentrating on a job and would be inefficient. They often have problems of getting along with others in a job situation, especially supervisors. Many would be fussy about the kind of job they would take and would tend to discard or reject job opportunities for non-relevant reasons. This population is a chronically disturbed one and the difficulties are probably long standing. They tend not to seek help for psychological problems and resist programs which would change them."

A final question concerning the characteristics of trainees asked of our vocational staff was: Which of the factors listed below do you feel best explains your client's unemployment? The results were as follows:

1. Client has psychological, social-psychiatric problems. These may show up as poorly motivated, bad appearance, inappropriate and peculiar behavior, hostile, bad work history, etc. - 67%.

2. Lacks marketable job skills (dull, automation victim, etc.) - 15%.

3. Age - client too young or too old - 9%.

4. Has severe medical problems (cerebral palsy, heart disease, etc. - 8%.

V. Conclusions Based on the Characteristic of "Hard-Core Unemployed"

The following conclusions about the chronically unemployed seem to be warranted by the information presented in the preceding analysis:

A. Most of the 170 clients studied have had a history of intermittent employment with short periods of unsatisfactory performance on marginal jobs.

B. They have multiple problems: Lack of vocational skill, physical handicaps, and personal and family difficulties. However, the most prevalent problem is a lack of resources to deal with their total life situation. In most instances, unemployment seems to be a symptom of deeper psychological problems.

C. From a vocational standpoint two types of problems recur. The following section describes these problems as seen by the vocational counseling staff:

1. Poor Job Seekers: They tend not to seek work on a consistent basis and there are frequent periods of weeks and months when no attempts at all are made. Many trainees do not apply to the right firms; either the company does not have jobs commensurate with the skills the trainee has, or the hiring requirements (minimum high school diploma) exceed the capabilities of the trainee. Their job interviewing techniques are often inept and they fail to inspire confidence that they are "job ready" and can be productive. Their history of unemployment and their poor references arouse suspicion which many trainees find difficult to overcome because of inappropriate interviewing technique. Poor grooming and sloppy dressing also contribute to the negative response of employers.

2. Poor Job Holders: In some cases the trainee has obtained a job at a level which exceeds his skill. In other cases the opposite was true. More frequently the trainee has exhibited behavior which employers find impossible to tolerate: absenteeism, difficulty in getting along with supervisors and fellow workers, and lack of productivity because of inattention, carelessness, etc. Of the two major factors in job retention, productivity and personal relationships, the latter was the more significant problem. Comments of past employers and observations at the Center both testify that while the worker was able to get the work done, his behavior was inappropriate and fostered dislike of supervisors and co-workers.

VI. Special Group Analysis

This section describes the characteristics of groups of trainees who were categorized on the basis of certain outcomes (e.g. "no shows," dropouts, employables, etc). The purpose of this section is to obtain a better understanding of the nature of these groups as an aid in programming or in selection of potential trainees.

TABLE IV
DISPOSITION OF 170 TRAINEES
WHO WERE REFERRED

Category	Number	Percentage
Failed to appear for first interview	33	19%
Not interested after first interview	7	4%
Rejected by Center	8	5%
Failed to start program after first interview	31	18%
Started Program	91	54%

Table IV shows that almost half (46%) of those referred failed to start the program. It also reveals that relatively few trainees were rejected by the Center.

TABLE V
DISPOSITION OF 91 TRAINEES
WHO STARTED THE PROGRAM

Category	Number	Percentage
Dropouts	17	19%
Unemployables	17	19%
Employable	54	59%
Program Interrupted	3	3%

Table V shows that approximately 60% of those who began the program were considered employable by the Center's counseling staff. This definition of employable is a liberal one and generally any trainee who has even a slight chance of obtaining and holding a job is considered to be employable and provided placement services.

To help assess these problem groups the MRC with the cooperation of the ES and other agencies who supplied information, analyzed the groups listed above to see what characteristics appeared.

A. Those Who Failed to Appear for First Interview

This group of 33 trainees, referred to the Center by the ES, represents 19% of the total sample. They were never seen by any member of the MRC staff, but on the basis of information supplied by the ES, these observations seem warranted:

The "no shows" had a significantly less serious unemployment problem than other groups. During the past five years they had worked more than the others and their periods of recent unemployment had been brief. However, they appeared to be deficient in the skills required to compete for jobs.

The number of females in this group was twice that of any other group.

Two types of "no shows" were recognized: (1) Those who were unskilled but psychologically stable and whose employment problems probably did not seem to them severe enough to require rehabilitation. (2) Those who were psychologically disturbed and probably did not wish to reveal their problems. It is also possible that their desire for employment was not substantial.

B. Those not interested following first interview, and those rejected by Center

A total of 15 trainees did not start the program either because the Center rejected them or the trainees stated that they did not wish to start.

An analysis of the group rejected by the Center shows these reasons: Trainees were almost psychotic and in need of hospitalization; they needed a long-term sheltered workshop, or they needed services that should be provided by the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation. The most consistent trait of this group was the need for services other than those that the Center could provide.

Seven trainees decided not to use the MRC program following an explanation of services. Again, a variety of reasons were given, some very appropriate: Financial need not a problem; on Veterans Administration Pension; belief that they can do just as well on their own; doubt that they would fit into the program, since not handicapped; or (as actually stated in a record) "does not want in."

C. Failed to Start Program after First Interview

A total of 31 appeared for the first interview and received an explanation of the services offered. Though a date was set to start the program, they did not appear. Contact was again made with the trainee and the Employment Service was notified. A second attempt to contact the trainee and urge him to return either to the Employment Service or to the Center for services was made but regardless of these attempts, 18% of the referred trainees failed to start the Center's program.

Some decline in the problem is to be noted in the fact that while 60% failed to appear during the first half of the project, only 40% failed to start during the last half. Unless the ES modified its selection technique, there is no ready explanation for this fact.

However, several methods to help solve this problem were tried out to help both those who failed to start the program and those who dropped out.

1. Orientation interviews were lengthened and re-focused in the hope of increasing the client's commitment toward "doing something about your employment problem" rather than emphasizing the trainee's psychological problems and the need for psychological treatment.

   Many of these trainees did not see themselves as psychological problems regardless of the Center's point of view. When it became apparent that these trainees became concerned about our concern with their mental health some undoubtedly preferred not to undertake such an experience. In professional jargon, they demonstrated little interest in a psychologically based service and our efforts to encourage such a viewpoint probably backfired.

2. An attempt was made to encourage family support of the trainee's participation, if at all possible.

3. The lag between the first interview and starting the program was shortened.

Although these efforts and others did help, the problem continued to occur throughout the project. It is possible that through a more sophisticated analysis of these two groups and other procedures (for example, more aggressive reaching out by the Center staff) this number could have been reduced. However, lack of interest in receiving help - poor motivation, etc., is probably a common and chronic problem and it may be that a certain erosion must always be expected.

In general three types of people appeared to comprise the "no starts." The first type consisted of those who had a reasonably good work history and skills but had not actively been seeking work. It may be that the first interview which tends to have a "what are you doing about your unemployment" emphasis jarred them into actively seeking work. About 25% of the total "no starts" obtained a job prior to the starting date. The second type seemed to be living on a stable financial base and possibly was resistant to a program which involved a great deal of effort and physical involvement with promise of a limited financial reward. The third type seemed to consist of a group of hostile and suspicious individuals who were prone to blame their unemployment on others. They were rather guarded in the interview. Later investigation showed a high rate of criminality and several cases of institutionalization for mental illness following the orientation interview.

D. Dropouts

A common problem plaguing all national manpower programs is that of Dropouts - individuals who agree to start a program, do start it, but fail to complete it. The dropout rate for the traditional MDTA programs statewide tends to be approximately 22%. It is considerably higher than this in the Twin City area. During the course of the program the Center found that 19% could be classed as "dropouts."

In general, the Center felt that the "dropout" rate was less than anticipated and declined during the length of the project. 65% of the "dropouts" happened during the first half of the program while the remaining 35% occurred during the last half.

Some rather interesting facts about the "dropouts" were found: a very high incidence of past police contact (over 40%) many of which were not known to the staff until an independent check of police records was done; an unusually high number who were either on relief or had received it at any one time (71%); and substantial number of trainees who had drinking problems (47%).

"Dropouts" can generally be characterized as people who need help but who are not looking for it. This is in spite of their extensive unemployment. Even though the MRC staff rated this group highest in terms of need for psychological and social help, they had less prior contact with helping resources than any other group. They seem to be rather secretive and unwilling to provide information such as prior police contacts. A fair number of these people have severe psychological problems which have not been diagnosed or treated by psychiatric resources. As an illustration, this group had the highest percentage of deviant scores on the MMPI; yet had the lowest rate of prior treatment for psychological problems.

The kind of psychological problems occurring in the "dropouts" differs considerably from the unemployables. Many in the sample would be considered to have character disorder symptoms such as irresponsibility, impulsiveness, disregard for others and noticeable lack of interest in receiving psychological help. Trainees with symptoms such as these present a severe problem and it is difficult to construct a program which will both hold them and help them.

E. Unemployables

Trainees regarded as "unemployable" by the MRC (19%) can be characterized chiefly by chronic mental illness. The types of symptoms are not those that are directed against others. Rather, they seem to consist of such problems as anxiety, fears, depression, confusion, etc. The severity of mental illness is easy to recognize, even by untrained persons.

"Unemployables" can be anticipated to some degree by reviewing their past employment history. This group had the poorest employment history in terms of the length of their unemployment and exceedingly poor job references obtained from their previous employer. They did not respond to the MRC program to the point where they could be considered employable. Prior to referral these trainees had used other community resources widely but without profit.

A number of these trainees were counseled out of the labor market and referred to community social and recreational programs. Some were referred to other carefully selected community treatment agencies in the hope that they might subsequently find employment. To all these agencies, the MRC was able to furnish carefully documented diagnoses of clients' problems, thus saving the time and effort of the agencies' professional staff. Some trainees were also able to use certain financial aid programs based on the documentation of unemployability furnished by the Center.

In effect some of these unemployables were provided programs other than vocational in which they had a chance to achieve benefits more meaningful and important than if they had found employment.

F. Employables

Using a very liberal definition of employability the MRC counseling staff considered 54 trainees employable. In comparison to the other groups analyzed, this group showed less evidence of mental illness, as the untrained observer would recognize it. The most prevalent signs of emotional distress

were symptoms such as shyness, lack of self confidence, etc. They seemed more ready to seek help and were receptive to the services offered by the Center. A capsule description is that they are nice people but rather inept.

VII. Results of the Project

To measure the effectiveness of this program the Center was concerned with the employment rates, the level of jobs that were attained and the costs of the program.

A. Employment Status

Since a number of trainees are still receiving services this section is not a final tabulation of the results. However, it does reflect the final outcome for most of the trainees completing the program.

TABLE VI
N=57

Status	Percentage of Trainees
Closed employed (Minimum 3 months)	58%
Employed, receiving follow-up services	12%
Employable - seeking employment	24%
On suspension	5%

This table shows that of those trainees who satisfactorily completed the program (excluding "dropouts" and "unemployables") 70% are currently employed. It is probable that some trainees currently employed will lose their jobs before closure while others who are not working will find employment. In general, between 70% and 80% of those trainees who satisfactorily complete the program will enter the labor market and hold their job for a minimum of three months. The job placement rate for regular MDTA programs in Minnesota is approximately 76%. This section indicates that the employment outcomes of serving a hard-core population are comparable

to those obtained by the ES in other manpower programs.

B. Analysis of Job Level Attained

The Center's job placement program made a substantial effort to place the trainees in stable jobs at an appropriate skill and financial level. A random list of jobs submitted in an earlier report illustrates the job level.

1. Inventory control and billing clerk (1-49) $285 a month
2. Electrical assistant (9-00) $1.50 an hour
3. Cocktail waitress (2-27) salary not available
4. Meat cutter $4.00 an hour
5. Laborer (8-05) $1.90 an hour
6. Housekeeping (2-29) $200 a month
7. Assembler (9-19) $2.24 an hour
8. Warehouse laborer (4-93) $1.69 an hour
9. PBX operator (1-42) $1.75 an hour
10. Punch press operator (8-78) $1.75 an hour
11. Die cutting cloth (1-25) $1.50 an hour

From this partial list it appears that the jobs found by these trainees are reasonably substantial from a salary viewpoint as well as an occupational level. In spite of the many deficiencies these trainees have, many of them appear to have sufficient skill to obtain good jobs. The most striking individual example was a trainee who was earning $40 a week prior to the program and during the 1st year of employment following the program earned over $9,000.

A final criterion for evaluating such a program is the stability of job placement. Unfortunately, this cannot be measured adequately at this time. The records of the first eleven trainees who found employment over one year ago indicate nine are still employed. However, irrespective of this finding a more detailed follow up needs to be done.

C. Service Rates and Costs

As described in an earlier section (III Services Offered) the services are provided by a team of eight professionals. These services are offered, on the average, over a ten to twelve month period of time. The total amount of services that were provided (excluding medical and psychiatric consultants) are shown in Table VII.

TABLE VII

Group	Vocational Counseling	Case Work	Psych-ology	Group Work	Total	Average Hours of Wk. Eval.
Employables	10.9	7.9	1.1	6.3	1415	130
Unemployables	7.1	5.5	1.6	5.2	330	136
Dropouts	2.2	4.8	1.3	5.0	226	38
No Starts	---	1.0	---	----	46	---
			Total		2017	9902

Reading across Table VII the first 4 columns represent the average number of interviews provided by Vocational Counseling, Casework, Psychology as well as Group Work sessions for each of the 11 trainees who were seen by the Center according to certain outcomes. The fifth column is the total number of interviews and group work sessions provided to all trainees who were seen. The last column is the average and the total number of hours spent in the work evaluation area.

This table reflects the total amount of services that were provided by the MRC. Since the Center does not tabulate service rates until the cases are closed the figures reflect projections based on those rates which have been tabulated to date. In total, these 137 trainees (excluding those that did not come in for the first interview), were provided over 2,000 interviews and group sessions and 9,902 hours spent in the work evaluation unit. In addition, approximately one-half of the sample were reviewed by the Center's psychiatric and medical consultants.

Table VII shows that trainees classed as employable received an average of 26.2 interviews and group sessions as well as an average of 130 hours in the Work Evaluation program. As trainees demonstrate less employment potential, the casework staff became more active. Dropouts, for example, were seen twice as often by the caseworker as compared to the counselors. A surprising figure is that the unemployables spent more time in the Work Evaluation area than any other group. Apparently the Center's staff wished to explore every possible device before categorizing a Trainee as unemployable.

Using figures compiled by the ES, the total average cost per enrollee served was $803. This includes the cost of MRC services, ES and Vocational Education Administrative costs and training allowances. Other

state manpower programs average $1,397 per enrollee (enrollees are defined as all those who actually start a program - it includes "dropouts" and early terminations). The ninety-one trainees starting the program were considered by the ES as MRC enrollees.

D. Conclusions

This section has demonstrated that the types of services provided by the MRC for trainees selected in the manner previously described are effective in terms of finding employment. Furthermore, these trainees are able to find reasonably substantial jobs and our early findings are that they are holding these jobs. Lastly, the costs of providing such services compare quite favorably with other MDTA programs.

Appendix

MINNEAPOLIS REHABILITATION CENTER
1900 Chicago Ave.

Guidelines for Selection and Referral
MDTA

The Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center is now able to provide special vocational services to approximately one hundred unemployed persons under the Manpower Development and Training Act. The Center is located at 1900 Chicago Avenue in Minneapolis and has been providing special employment programs for unemployed persons for the past three years. Referrals of MDTA trainees can be made to the Center by any ES office in the state. The services start on October 7 and will be available for one year.

Trainee Selection:

The Center is interested in providing services to persons who are best described as the "hard-core" unemployed. Generally, these are people who, for a variety of reasons (limited skills, marginal education, poor job choice, bad work history, etc.),you feel are not reasonable candidates for a job. In other instances these may be people who have been sent out on a succession of appropriate jobs with poor results. In short, they represent difficult placement problems. No physical handicap need be present. More specifically, the services are available to any unemployed male or female resident of the State of Minnesota who:

1. Is interested in full-time, permanent work.
2. Is not able to make use of the usual placement, counseling and training programs the ES now offers.
3. Might be interested in jobs which are generally of an entry level nature (Machine Operators, Assemblers, Kitchen worker, File Clerk, Helpers, etc.)
4. Seem to be willing to spend between 2 and 12 weeks in a Center preparing themselves for a job.
5. Willing to accept employment in the Twin Cities.

Referral Procedures:

Simply fill out a post card and send it to the Center. When reviewed, the Center will invite the trainee by letter to come in for an interview. Wives or parents are also invited. The interview is to explain what we do, determine the trainee's interest and make the necessary arrangements to start the program. Housing arrangements will be made for out-of-town clients. After the interview the trainee will usually start the program within two weeks. The program will receive specialized services of a vocational, social and psychological nature as well as entry level skill training and job placement services.

What to tell the Trainees:

Most of what a trainee needs to know in order to come over for the first interview is contained in this memo. If you are pressed for further details, tell the trainee to ask us the questions during his first interview. Don't try to talk them into starting the program. Emphasize coming over for the first interview so that they can decide for themselves after the interview whether or not they wish to start the program. We expect that many will not be enthusiastic. Don't let this stop you from referring. We're used to working with this problem. A sample of what you might say would be: "I think that there's a possibility that another agency might be of more help to you with your job problem." "It might be a good idea to go over and see them to see what they have to say."

Special Problems:

If there are any questions or special problems that come up, call FE 3-2335 and tell the switchboard operator what you would like to know. She will connect you with the person who can best answer your questions.

ERIC GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING
INFORMATION CENTER
University of Michigan
309 South State Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104